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Mondzish: a new subgroup of Lolo-Burmese

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Abstract

The Mondzish languages were recently identified by Ziwo Lama (2012) as a coherent subgroup of Lolo-Burmese, and its most divergent branch as well. They are spoken primarily in Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan Province, southwestern China. However, Lama (2012) only identified two lects, Maang and Mondzi, as Mondzish languages, and did not classify many other nearby lects that I am convinced are also Mondzish. Here, I will demonstrate that these other lects display the lexical and phonological innovations that Lama (2012) had given for the Mondzish branch, such as the deaffrication of Proto-Lolo-Burmese (PLB) *ts- > s-. I will propose a preliminary internal classification scheme for Mondzish, and also briefly consider the position of Mondzish within Lolo-Burmese.

Mondzi, Maang (Lama 2012), Mantsi (Edmondson 2003), and Kathu (Wu Zili 1994) are among the Mondzish languages that have been previously documented. There are also several previously undocumented Mondzish lects, including Muangphe (muɑŋ⁵⁵phɛ³³), Mango (ma³³ŋo¹¹), and Maza (ma³³za⁵³), which I had collected word lists of in April 2013. Mango and Maza are highly endangered, each with fewer than 50 elderly speakers each; Maza may have a Qabiao (Kra-Dai) substratum as well. Kathu is the most divergent Mondzish language, and also preserves many archaic clusters, including /kl-/, that are found in only a few Lolo-Burmese languages such as Written Burmese, Marma, and Jinuo. David Bradley (1994) had previously identified Kathu to be crucial for the reconstruction of Proto-Lolo-Burmese, especially PLB medial *-l-. Thus, further research needs to be done on the Mondzish branch in order to gain a better understanding of Lolo-Burmese linguistic prehistory and reconstruction.

Keywords: Lolo-Burmese, endangered languages, historical comparative linguistics, documentation

1. Introduction and background

The Mondzish languages are spoken in Funing, Guangnan, Malipo, and Napo counties of China and Hà Giang and Cao Bằng provinces of northern Vietnam. The autonyms of Mondzish-speaking peoples often begins with *man-. Lama (2012) considers *man- to be cognate with Mán (蛮), which is an ancient Chinese exonym for non-Chinese peoples to the south; however, this could also be cognate with the ethnonyms “Hmong” and “Mien”. All Mondzish languages display SOV word order, and many display tense-lax register contrast. Except for Mango, none of the languages have final stops. The purpose of this paper is to provide a preliminary survey of the internal variety and demographics the Mondzish languages, as well as classification issues.

Speakers of Mondzish languages are officially classified by the Chinese government as ethnic Yi 彝族, and as ethnic Lô Lô in Vietnam. The most common names by which they are known by other local ethnic groups include Black Lolo, White Lolo, and Flowery Lolo. Despite the term “Lolo” being viewed as pejorative by many Yi scholars in China, the term “Lolo” is regularly used by Mondzish groups to refer to themselves, and is also officially used by the Vietnamese government.

Wu Zili (1993) was the first documentation of a Mondzish language, namely Mo’ang (Maang), followed by Wu Zili (1994), which covers Kathu. However, both publications were brief sketches with no more than a few dozen words. The *Funing County Ethnic Gazetteer* (1998) and *Guangxi Ethnic Gazetteer* (2009) include word lists of “Yi” varieties in Funing and Napo counties, respectively. These languages were first identified as a separate subgroup of Lolo-Burmese by Ziwo Lama (2012).

In April 2013, I surveyed 6 previously undocumented Mondzish varieties in Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan and Napo County, Guangxi, and collected about 150 words on average for each variety. Muangphe and Maza are new discoveries, and are unintelligible with all other surrounding Yi languages. WAV audio recordings and transcribed word lists of newly researched Mondzish languages are available from the author upon request.

1.1. Language statistics

Mondzish languages are spoken by small populations numbering no more than 2,000 people each, but are geographically constrained to the southeastern Wenshan area as well as immediately adjacent regions in neighboring Guangxi and Vietnam.

Table 1. Demographics of Mondzish languages

Language	Autonym	Location	Speakers	Source
Thou	θou ⁵³	Nabi 那比, Balong Village 坝聋村, Nanping Township 南屏镇, Guangnan County, Yunnan	2,000	Hsiu (2013) field notes
Kathu	ka ³³ θu ³³	Anwang Village 安王村, Nanping Township 南屏镇, Guangnan County, Yunnan	2,000	Hsiu (2013) field notes & Wu Zili (1994)
Muangphe	muəŋ ⁵³ , muəŋ ⁵⁵ phe ²¹	Xinfazhai 新发寨, Mulang Village 木浪村, Heizhiguo Township 黑支果乡, Guangnan County, Yunnan	300	Hsiu (2013) field notes
Mango	ma ⁵⁵ ŋo ²¹	Mumei 木美, Heye Village 河野村, Babao Township 八宝镇, Guangnan County, Yunnan	<50	Hsiu (2013) field notes
Manga	ma ³³ ŋa ³³	Gedang Village 格当村, Xinhua Township 新华乡, Funing County, Yunnan	500?	Ziwo Lama (2012)
Maza	ma ³³ za ⁵³	Mengmei 孟梅, Puyang Village 普阳村, Muyang Township 木央乡, Funing County, Yunnan	<50	Hsiu (2013) field notes
Meang	mæŋ ⁵³	Dala Village 达腊村, Napo County, Guangxi	500	Hsiu (2013) field notes
Maang	maŋ ³³	Longyang Village 龙洋村, Banlun Township 板仑乡, Funing County, Yunnan	1,000?	Ziwo Lama (2012)
Monji [Mondzi]	mo ²¹ ndzi ²¹	Musang 木桑, Daping Village 大坪村, Muyang Township 木央乡, Funing County, Yunnan	2,000?	YYFC (1983), quoted in Ziwo Lama (2012)
Munji	mu ⁵³ ndzi ²¹	Hetaowan 核桃湾, Yongli Village 永利村, Donggan Township 董干镇, Malipo County, Yunnan	1,000?	Hsiu (2013) field notes
Mantsi	mã ⁵³ tsi ⁵³	Dong Van District, Hà Giang Province, Vietnam	1,000	Edmondson (n.d.) audio recordings
Mandzi [Ma Ndzi]	ma ndzi	Hồng Tri, Bảo Lạc District, Cao Bằng Province, Vietnam	500?	Iwasa Kazue (2003)
Maji	ma ²¹ dzi ²¹	Powu 坡五, Napo County, Guangxi	500?	<i>Guangxi Ethnic Gazetteer</i> (2009)

Since ethnic Yi in Funing County numbered 11,249 individuals as of 1990, and about 3,000 in northern Vietnam, the total number of Mondzish speakers probably number around 15,000 to 20,000 people.

The relative geographic distributions of Mondzish languages are shown below in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Distribution of Mondzish languages in the Sino-Vietnamese border region
(Red: Mondzish languages; Blue: non-Tibeto-Burman minor languages)

2. Languages

2.1. Kathu, Thou

Thou (autonym: θu^{53}) is spoken in Balong village 坝聋村, while Kathu ($ka^{33}\theta u^{33}$) is spoken further downhill in Anwang village 安王村. They are known locally to other ethnic groups as the White Yi. Both administrative villages are adjacent to each other, and are administered as part of Nanping Town, Guangnan County, Yunnan.

2.1.1. Initial onset clusters

Thou and Kathu display the initial onset clusters /kl-/, /khl-/, /pl-/, /phl-/. These are only rarely attested in modern-day Lolo-Burmese languages, such as in Jinuo, Taungyo, and Marma (Frédéric Pain, p.c.).

Some of the Thou forms with initial clusters (such as ‘dog’, ‘ear’, ‘leaf’, ‘neck’, ‘right side’) do not have lexical correspondences within either Mondzish or Lolo-Burmese, but rather with Tibeto-Burman branches much further to the west in NE India or Nepal, which comprise the heartland of Tibeto-Burman diversity. As David Bradley (1994) has observed about the Kathu form for ‘thing’ mlA31, these forms imply that corresponding Proto-Lolo-Burmese or even Proto-Tibeto-Burman reconstructions may need to be revised for clusters. Comparisons are from the appendix of Ziwo Lama (2012) and UC Berkeley’s STEDT database.

Table 2. Consonant clusters in Thou

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Thou (Nabi)</i>	<i>Written Burmese</i>	<i>Jinuo (Youle)</i>	<i>Proto-Lolo-Burmese</i>	<i>Other TB</i>
dog	khli ⁵³	khwe ³	khui ⁴⁴ jo ⁴⁴	*k ^{wəy} ²	Proto-Kiranti *khli
ear	ta ³³ kle ⁵⁵	hna ² khəŋ ³	na ³³ kho ⁴⁴	*ʔ-na ²	Taraon kru-na :
white	a ³³ phlu ²²	phru ²	a ³³ phro ⁴⁴	*plu ¹	
blue	a ³³ ple ³⁵	pra ²	a ³³ lu ⁵⁵	*bra ¹ (PL)	
to fly	a ⁵⁵ ple ³³	pjam ²	pre ⁴²	*byam ¹	Proto-Tangkhalic *praj
leaf	θei ³⁵ phlo ¹¹	a ¹ rwak ⁴	a ³³ pha ⁵⁵	*C/V-pak L	Thulung [Kiranti] blam , Trung biǎŋ ⁵⁵
right side	plac ³⁵ pa ³³	ja ²	la ³³ mə ⁵⁵	*s-ya ¹ (PL)	Proto-Tani *[lak-]bruuk
neck	lɔ ²¹ klæ ³⁵	lan ² paŋ ³	lu ³¹ ts ^h u ⁵⁵	*m-liŋ ¹	Northern Naga *kliŋ

Interestingly, the /a-/ nominal prefix is common in many Southern Loloish languages such as Bisu and Jinuo.

2.2. Muangphe

Muangphe (muaŋ⁵³, muaŋ⁵⁵phe²¹) is spoken in 5 villages of Babao and Heizhiguo townships, with ethnic Muangphe found in a total of 7 villages. They are known locally to other ethnic groups as the Lai 傣 or Lairen 傣人, which is also applied to the Austroasiatic-speaking Bolyu located further to the north in Longlin County, Guangxi. Phonologically, Muangphe is characterized by the pre-velarization of many of its initials; this does not occur in any of the other Muangphe languages. Village demographics, from Li Xulian (1999), are given in Table 3.

Table 3: Ethnic Muangphe villages (Li Xulian 1999)

Village (自然村)	Administrative village (新政村)	Township (乡镇)	Households	Population
Xīnfāzhài 新发寨	Mùlàng 木浪	Hēizhīguǒ 黑支果乡	50	229
Jílài 吉赖	Mùlàng 木浪	Hēizhīguǒ 黑支果乡	50	251
Mùdīláng 木底郎	Yíláng 夷郎	Hēizhīguǒ 黑支果乡	45	201
Mùlóu 木娄	Xīnjiē 新街	Hēizhīguǒ 黑支果乡	38	176
Mùlóng 木聋	Xīnjiē 新街	Hēizhīguǒ 黑支果乡	25	120
Wǎbiāo 瓦标	Yángliǔshù 杨柳树	Bābǎo 八宝镇	23	100
Mùliáng 木良	Yángliǔshù 杨柳树	Bābǎo 八宝镇	20	115

Locals of Xinfazhai 新发寨 report that Muangphe is most vigorously spoken in their village by both adults and children, while it is spoken to a lesser extent in the four villages of Jilai 吉赖, Mudilang 木底郎, Wabiao 瓦标, and Muliang 木良. Xinfazhai locals report that the language is not being transmitted to children in, and is thus likely moribund, in those four villages. Muangphe is spoken only by very few elderly individuals in Mulou 木娄 and Mulong 木聋 villages, both located in Xinjie administrative village 新街村. Based on these demographics, speakers of Muangphe number at least 200 but do not exceed 1,000. It is by all means an endangered language, and is moribund in most villages except for at least Xinfazhai 新发寨.

Xinfazhai locals report that their ancestors had come from a location further to the east called “Jiangxi 江西”. They also claim to have bronze drums inherited from their ancestors, which are maintained and kept hidden by the village elders. An ethnic Han resident of Mulang 木浪 reports watching the local Yi performing bronze drum dances a few decades ago, but says that they are no longer performed. Traditional ethnic clothing is not worn in any of the Muangphe villages.

Many village names in Heizhiguo township and Babao township contain the prefix “Mu-木”. This likely signifies that the village used to have, or currently has, a Mondzish-speaking population, since they have autonyms prefixed *maŋ-* ~ *muŋ-*. Similarly, areas that were historically Buyang have many village suffixed “-yang 央” (Li Jinfang 1999).

2.3. *Mango and Manga*

Mango (ma⁵⁵ŋo²¹) is a critically endangered language spoken only by the elderly in the two villages of Mumei 木美 (mei⁵⁵te³³) and Zhelai 者赖 (ci⁵⁵te³³) of Babao Town (ba³³wo²¹), Guangnan County, Yunnan. There should be no more than 50 speakers in both villages. Ziwo

Lama (2012) reports another Mondzish variety known as Manga ($ma^{33}\eta a^{33}$) is spoken in nearby Gedang village 格当村, Funing County, but whether Manga and Mango are mutually intelligible or not remains open to question. The Guangnan County Almanac (2001) also lists them as a Yi subgroup called “Guwo 估渦” in Mumei 木美. It is possible that this is an exonym given to them by other Yi groups, where the Chinese transliteration “wo 渦” would correspond to ηo^{21} in the autonym $ma^{55}\eta o^{21}$, and “gu 估” would be general prefix for ethnic Yi or Lolo.¹

Based on their similar autonyms and neighboring locations, Mango and Manga could possibly be closely related languages, although this has yet to be confirmed with Lama’s unpublished data of Manga. Ziwo Lama had collected a word list of Manga in 2003, but none of the data has been included in Ziwo Lama (2012).

Mango is the only Mondzish language that has final stops. I have found two final stops /-t/ and /-k/, as in zat^{53} ‘chicken’ and $tjok^{53}$ ‘nose’. Nong Zhuang is the only other language in contact with Mango that has final stops. Since Mango is spoken relatively close to the Zhuang-majority town center of Babao, frequent contact with Zhuang may have likely helped Mango retain (or develop) final stops.

2.4. Maza

The Maza ($ma^{33}za^{53}$) live in the single village of Mengmei 孟梅 ($qha^{33}le^{53}$), located on a rocky hilltop overlooking the administrative village center of Puyang 普阳. Liang Min, et. al (2007:1) report that Qabiao speakers living in Dongdu Village 董渡村, Donggan Township 董干镇 further to the southwest had originally migrated in the 1600’s and 1700’s from locations called Pumei 普梅 (Qabiao name: $gə^{33}mei^{33}$) and Puyang 普阳 (Qabiao name: $gə^{33}wan^{55}$). The Red Gelao of La Pao, Hà Giang province, Vietnam refer to the Qabiao as $o^{55}mei^{33}$, which in Red Gelao refers to the Lolo as well (Hsiu 2014 field notes). Interestingly, the Qabiao of China are officially classified as ethnic Yi, possibly due to certain cultural similarities to Mondzish speakers.

2.4.1. Qabiao substratum in Maza

The following Maza words (Table 4) have cognates in the Kra languages Qabiao and Buyang, most of which reconstruct to Proto-Kra. They are not found in any other Mondzish language, except for ‘blood’ and ‘intestine’, which are attested in Munji. Muangphe, a typical lexically conservative Mondzish language that does not display any significant Kra-Dai

¹ In April 2013, I had also found a Yi group in Zhulin Town who call themselves by the autonym ku^{55} , and speak a Loloish language similar to Nasu of Guizhou and Sichuan Yi.

influence, is included in the rightmost column for comparison. Qabiao forms are from Liang, et al (2007), Proto-Kra from Ostapirat (2000), and additional comparanda from the *Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database* (ABVD).

Table 4: Maza lexical items of Kra origin

Gloss	Maza	Qabiao	Proto-Kra	Other Kra	<i>Muangphe</i>
blood	qa ⁵³	qa ³³	*kya C		sei ³³
bone	xa ³³ ʔdaŋ ³⁵	daak ³³	*dək D	Buyang qa0 ʔdaak31	you ³³
egg	tən ⁵³	khai ⁵³ [Tai borrowing]	*təm A	Buyang tam24	yu ³³ ʔou ⁵⁵
flower	pu ⁵³	puŋ ³³	*bal A		vwei ²¹
intestines	sei ⁵³	sai ³³	*C-si C		yu ⁵³
meat	ʔou ³⁵	ʔiau ³³	*ʔau C	Buyang ua24	xu ³³
moon	mu ⁵³ ntan ³³	taan ⁵³	*m-djan A, *(C-)tjan A	Sanchong Gelao nta31	la ³³ pei ²¹
tooth	nin ⁵³	suaŋ ⁵³	*l-pən A, *C- tʃuŋ A	Paha du33 naaŋ11	tsei ⁵³

Since Maza does not allow for final stops and vowel length like most other Lolo-Burmese languages, xa³³ʔdaŋ³⁵ could have been xa³³ʔda:k³⁵ in the donor Qabiao or Buyang dialect, while tən⁵³ could have been təm⁵³.

One interesting case in which the Kra and Lolo-Burmese forms have been preserved side-by-side involves the lexical forms for ‘meat’. My informant informed me that there were two forms for ‘meat’, namely xa³³ and ʔou³⁵. While xa³³ derives from Proto-Loloish *xa², ʔou³⁵ comes from Proto-Kra *ʔau C but does not closely correspond to any reflexes in modern Kra languages. The profusion of Kra basic vocabulary in the Maza lexicon suggests that in the past, there had been widespread multilingualism and intermarriage among Mondzish and Kra speakers for generations.

The Kra lexicon in Maza appears to have derived from an extinct dialect of Qabiao, or at least a closely related language in the Buyang-Qabiao cluster, or “Eastern Kra” as named by Ostapirat (2000). For instance, Maza pu⁵³ is ‘flower’, and cognate with Qabiao puŋ³³, a Qabiao innovation not found in any other Kra-Dai or Lolo-Burmese language. The Maza form has lost the original velar nasal final and also has a falling tone rather than level one. However, the imperfect correspondences between Maza and Qabiao indicate that the donor language was not

Qabiao as spoken today, but rather a closely related variety that had already gone extinct. Kra would have had much a greater geographic distribution and linguistic diversity in the past. As Li Jinfang (1999) points out, Buyang (*pu²²jaan²⁴*) once had a very wide distribution before being assimilated by Central Tai. Li also believes that the ancestors of Yang Zhuang, which is widely spoken in southwestern Guangxi, were formerly Buyang (Kra) speakers who had shifted to Central Tai.

2.5. *Meang and Maang*

Meang is spoken in Napo County, Guangxi, near the border with Vietnam's Cao Bang province.

The *Napo County Almanac* 那坡县志 reports that there are two branches of Yi in Napo County, Guangxi Province, namely the White Yi and Red Yi. The White Yi (白彝) are also locally called the White Lolo (白倮倮), High Trouser-Legged Yi (高裤脚彝), Skirt-Trouser Yi (裙裤彝), with the autonym *Mángzuǒ* (芒佐). The White Yi are reported to live in and around Nàlóng (那隆乡) in the villages of Dálà (达腊), Niànbì (念毕), Zhěxiáng (者祥), Yánhuá (岩华), Pōbào (坡报), Dáwàng (达汪), and Xiàmeyào (下么要).

The Red Yi (红彝) are also called the Red-Headed Yi (红头彝) or Flower-Waisted Yi (花腰彝), with autonyms *Mángjí* (芒集) or *Miējí* (乜集). According to the *Napo County Almanac*, they reside in and around Xiàhuá Township (下华乡) in the villages of Pōwǔ (坡五) and Pōkāngtún (坡康屯).

2.6. *Munji and Mantsi*

Munji is spoken by the Flowery Yi of Donggan Town, Malipo County, Yunnan. It is closely related to Mantsi of Vietnam, as the similar-sounding autonyms would imply.

Edmondson (2003) reports that the Black Lolo people of northern Vietnam reside in Hồng Tri and Đức Hạnh Townships of Bảo Lạc District, Cao Bằng Province, northern Vietnam. The Vietnam Commission for Ethnic Minorities website also lists the names Mùn Di, Di, Mần Di, La La, Qua La, Ô Man, and Lu Lộc Mần for the Lô Lô ethnic group, which comprises 3,134 people distributed in Đồng Văn and Mèo Vạc Districts of Hà Giang Province, Bảo Lạc District of Cao Bằng Province, and Mường Khương District of Lào Cai Province.

Chen Kang (2010) reports 50,000 speakers of a language called *mo²¹ndzi²¹*, which he sinicizes as Moqī 莫期 and romanizes as Mongi. Mongi is reported to be spoken in Wuding, Luquan, Songming, Kunming, and Mile counties of central Yunnan. This area is located far to

the northeast of the core Mondzish area in Wenshan Prefecture.² Chen (2010:33) also includes a map showing the geographical distribution of Mongi as comprising a small area just south of the county seats of Songming and Luquan, but just north of Kunming and Yiliang counties. Chen (2010) classifies Mongi as a Nasu (Eastern Yi) language, and the majority of lexical items are indeed nearly identical with that of nearby Nasu dialects. However, many words, as given in Table 5, are not found in any other Nasu dialect, and instead have cognates found further to the southeast in the Mondzi (Munji) language of Wenshan Prefecture. The lexical evidence suggests that remnant Mondzish languages in the Kunming area had gradually assimilated to the neighboring Nasu dialects, leading to a Nasu language with a Mondzish substratum.

Munji data was collected by myself in April 2013 in Hetaowan 核桃湾, Yongli Village 永利村, Donggan Township 董干镇, Malipo County, Yunnan, while Mondzi is from YYFC (1983), as cited in the appendix of Lama (2012). Mongi data is from the appendix of Chen Kang (2010).

Table 5: Comparison of Mongi, Mondzi, and Munji transcriptions

Gloss	Mongi (Chen 2010)	Mondzi (YYFC 1983)	Munji (Hsiu 2013)
autonym	mo ²¹ ndzi ²¹	mo ²¹ ndzi ²¹	mu ⁵⁴ ndzi ³¹
sun	mo ²¹ pe ^{13;13}	mo ²¹ pei ¹³	mu ³¹ pei ¹³
moon	li ¹³ e ¹³ po ²¹	lie ¹³ po ²¹	la ³³ po ³¹
star	mo ²¹ tci ¹³	mo ²¹ tci ¹³	mu ³¹ tɕi ¹³
head	mo ⁵⁵ bu ⁵³	mo ⁵⁵ bu ⁵³	mo ¹³ bu ⁵⁴
hair, head	mo ⁵⁵ sui ¹³	mo ⁵⁵ sui ¹³	mo ¹³ tɕh ¹³
mouth	ma ²¹	ma ²¹	ma ²¹
tongue	lo ³³ be ³³	ma ²¹ li ⁴⁴	ma ²¹ li ⁴⁴
belly	bo ⁵³ n ⁵³	boŋ ⁵³	bō ⁵⁴
foot	khe ¹³	khe ¹³	khe ¹³
skin	u ⁵³ nge ¹³	u ⁵³ ŋgie ¹³	ŋge ¹³
bone	u ⁵³ yo ²¹	u ⁵³ yo ²¹	xa ³³ yo ²¹
rice (grain)	k ^h ɔ ¹³	k ^h ɔ ¹³	k ^h ɔ ¹³
eight	ɕi ⁵³	ɕi ⁵³ (ɔ ⁴⁴)	ɕi ⁵⁴
ten	si ⁴⁴	si ⁴⁴ (ɔ ⁵³)	si ⁵⁵

² My Munji informants in Yongli Village 永利村, Donggan Township 董干镇, Malipo County reported that their ancestors had come from the Wuhua Mountains 五华山 of Kunming. Pelkey (2011) also cites many historical sources and oral legends lending to strong evidence of Lolo-Burmese speakers in Wenshan Prefecture having migrated from just south of the Kunming area during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties.

Gloss	Mongi (Chen 2010)	Mondzi (YYFC 1983)	Munji (Hsiu 2013)
horse	mo ⁴⁴ ŋ ²¹	moŋ ²¹	mõ ³¹
dog	k ^h ui ⁴⁴	k ^h ui ⁴⁴	k ^h ui ⁴⁴
rabbit	lɔ ⁴⁴	mie ¹³ ndzu ⁵³	mu ²¹ ndzu ⁵³
louse	xɔ ¹³ p ^h i ¹³ u ¹³	xɔ ⁴⁴	xo ¹³
gold	xi ¹³	xi ⁴⁴	xi ¹³

It is surprising that many of the “Mongi” transcriptions in Chen (2010) are identical or nearly identical with the ones in YYFC (1983), leading one to suspect that Chen may have derived part of his Mongi forms from the YYFC manuscript.

Jamin Pelkey (2011) lists the following Phula (Southeastern Loloish) languages that bear names similar to Mondzi, but are not classified as Mondzish: Qila Muji (m¹³dzi³³), Southern Muji (m¹³dzi³³), Northern Muji (mu²¹dzi³³), and Muzi (m¹³dzi³³). Perhaps these were Mondzish speakers who had shifted to speaking Southeastern Loloish languages instead, but this would require a detailed study of these languages’ lexicons, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

2.7. Other languages

The *Guangnan County Almanac* (1997) also reports the following two Yi ethnolinguistic groups in Guangnan County, which I had not investigated before.

- Meng 孟 (in Lisa 里洒, Babao Town 八宝镇)
- Mengpu 孟璞 (in Dagulu 大咕噜, Heizhiguo Township 黑支果乡)

My Mango informant reported that the Yi of Lisa speak a language that is not mutually intelligible with Mango, but has many “similar-sounding words.” The Mango exonym for Yi of Lisa is *so*⁵⁵*o*³³. Based on their locations and similar-sounding autonyms, perhaps Meng of Lisa may be most closely related to Mango, while Mengpu of Dagulu may be most closely related to Muangphe, but this remains to be confirmed through further fieldwork.

3. Classification

Kathu and Thou display many unique phonological and lexical innovations that are not shared with other Mondzish languages. Since Kathu and Thou are spoken relatively to the northwest of the other languages, I will call this dialect cluster “Northwestern Monzdish.” All of

the other languages evidently form a coherent subgroup. However, based on my preliminary impressions of basic vocabulary isoglosses, these languages do not appear to me to be particularly related to one another, and therefore do not form any nested subgrouping structure. Thus, I will propose as rake-like tree structure for the Core Mondzish languages, as shown in Figure 2.

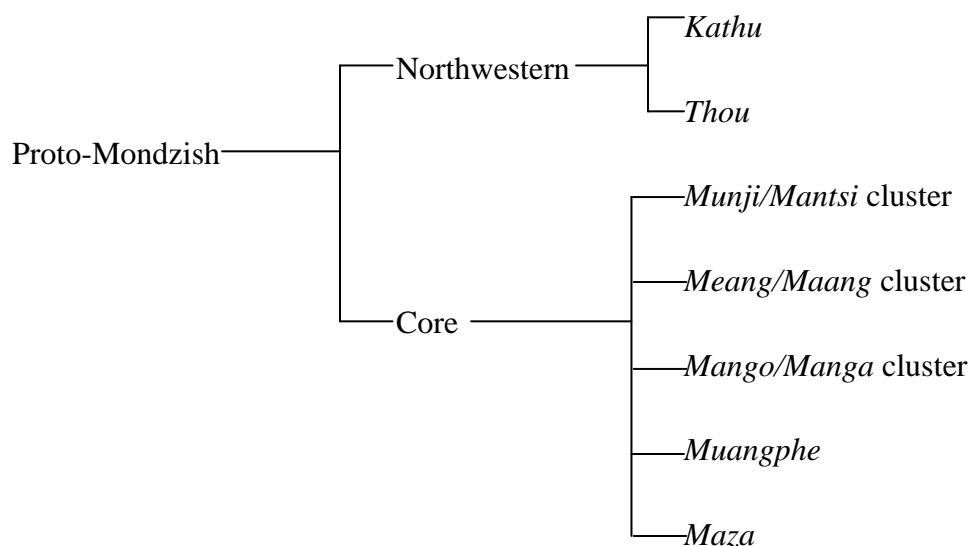


Figure 2. Proposed stammbaum of Mondzish languages

None of the core Mondzish languages appear to be particularly closely related to any of the other ones, so I will tentatively propose a flat array structure for this group.

3.1. Phonological innovations

Ziwo Lama (2012) first noted that a hallmark feature setting Mondzish languages apart from the rest of Lolo-Burmese is the deaffrication of Proto-Lolo-Burmese affricate sibilants. Lama's computational analyses, including tree-branching algorithms and phylogenetic networks, suggest that Mondzish was the first to split off Proto-Lolo-Burmese, even before Burmish.

Table 6: Mondzish deaffrication of Proto-Lolo-Burmese affricate sibilants

Gloss	Kathu	Muangphe	Mango	Maza	Meang	Munji	PLB
human being	θae ⁵⁵	saŋ ¹¹	sak ³³	saŋ ⁵³	saŋ ¹¹	sã ⁵³	*tsaŋ ¹
medicine	θei ⁵³	sai ³³	si ³³	sei ³³	sai ³³	sae ³³	Nasu tshi33
salt	tshɛ ³³ ʔdei ³³	sɛ ³³	so ³³	sa ³³	ʔde ³³	so ³³	*tsa ²
oil	huo ⁵³	sei ⁵³	-	sei ³⁵	ju ¹¹	si ³⁵	Nasu tshɔ11
to eat	ðɔ ⁵³	zei ³³	zu ³³	zo ⁵³	sa ³³	zo ⁵³	*dža ²

Some general sound changes from Proto-Lolo-Burmese can be listed as follows (Lama 2012).

- PLB *ts- > Proto-Mondzish *s-
- PLB *dz- > Proto-Mondzish *z-

Additionally, I have also found two phonological innovations that are unique to Maang and Meang.

- Proto-Mondzish *s- and *z- merge as /s-/ (e.g., PM *za² > Meang sa³³ ‘to eat’)
- Proto-Mondzish *ɣ- and *x- merge as /ɣ-/ (e.g., PM *xo¹ > Meang ɣa³³ ‘meat’)

However, Kathu has developed interdental fricative reflexes /θ-/ and /ð-/ from Proto-Mondzish sibilants /s-/ and /z-/, respectively. This is a widespread areal feature in Guangxi; similarly, in some Zhuang (Central Tai) dialects, /s/ in Middle Chinese corresponds to /θ/ in Zhuang dialects, e.g. MC sam ‘three’ > θa:m¹ in Zhuang of Jingxi and Debao counties, southwestern Guangxi.

3.2. Lexical innovations

Mondzish languages have various basic vocabulary items not found in any of the other Lolo-Burmese branches, including the body parts given in Table 7. Some of them may be derived from suffixal elements found in other Lolo-Burmese languages, although this remains to be further analyzed.

Table 7: Mondzish body part innovations distinct from Proto-Lolo-Burmese

Gloss	PLB	Thou	Muangphe	Mango	Maza	Meang	Mondzi
‘eye’	*s-myak H	khi ³³	tɕiu ³³	qhai ⁵⁵	qhei ³⁵	tiu ³³ ma ⁵³	khi13
‘ear’	*na 2	ta ³³ klɛ ³⁵	qeqɲ ³³	qoɲ ³³	qeqɲ ³³	paɲ ⁵³	lkaɲ53
‘nose’	*sna 1	tu ³⁵ ka ⁵³	ne ⁵³	tjok ⁵³	tjaɲ ⁵³	tein ²¹	tʂoɲ53

4. Conclusion

The recent identification and preliminary documentation of the Mondzish languages highlights the tremendous plethora of unresearched linguistic diversity in Lolo-Burmese. Thou or Kathu, two mutually intelligible but quite distinctive lects, preserve consonant clusters that may necessitate the revision of various Proto-Lolo-Burmese lexical reconstructions. The newly discovered Maza language is highly remarkable in that it contains a high amount of divergent vocabulary of Kra (particularly Qabiao) origin, pointing to extensive contact between Mondzish and Kra speakers in the Sino-Vietnamese border region. Other recently discovered languages include the critically endangered Muangphe and Mango, while Mondzi (Munji) is also

remarkable for its extensive dialectal diversity in both China and Vietnam. All of these languages have been shown by Ziwo Lama (2012) to comprise the most basal subgroup of Lolo-Burmese, pointing to the importance of this highly underdocumented group of languages. Needless to say, further studies on Mondzish languages are urgently needed if we are to gain a more comprehensive understanding of Lolo-Burmese linguistic prehistory.

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First of all, I would like to express my deepest thanks to Ziwo Lama for being the first to identify the Mondzish group of languages as a distinct group or branch, as well as do comparisons with the rest of the Lolo-Burmese family. I am also greatly indebted to Jerold Edmondson for providing me his personal audio recordings as well as generous feedback; Eric Johnson for his incredible hospitality and personal assistance during my 2012 field trip in Wenshan, Yunnan; James Stanford; Peter Norquest; Doug Cooper; Frédéric Pain. Last but not least, I would also like to thank all my informants in the field for all their time and enthusiasm, and countless other people in China and Vietnam without whom my research would not have been possible.

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Appendix: Comparative basic vocabulary table for Mondzish languages

92 items, excluding the autonyms, are provided in the table for comparative purposes.

Sources and locations

- *Thou*: author field notes, April 20, 2013. Nabi 那比, Balong Village 坝聋村, Nanping Township 南屏镇, Guangnan County, Yunnan, China.
- *Muangphe*: author field notes, April 20, 2013. Xinfazhai 新发寨, Mulang Village 木浪村, Heizhiguo Township 黑支果乡, Guangnan County, Yunnan, China.
- *Mango*: author field notes, April 21, 2013. Mumei 木美, Heye Village 河野村, Babao Township 八宝镇, Guangnan County, Yunnan, China.
- *Maza*: author field notes, April 22, 2013. Mengmei 孟梅, Puyang Village 普阳村, Muyang Township 木央乡, Funing County, Yunnan, China.
- *Meang*: author field notes, April 24, 2013. Dala Village 达腊村, Napo County, Guangxi, China.
- *Maang*: Lama (2012), data collected July 27, 2003. Longyang Village 龙洋村, Banlun Township 板仑乡, Funing County, Yunnan, China.
- *Mondzi*: YYFC (1983) [handwritten manuscript], cited in Lama (2012). Musang 木桑, Daping Village 大坪村, Muyang Township 木央乡, Funing County, Yunnan, China.

Gloss	<i>Thou</i> (Nabi 那比)	<i>Muangphe</i> (Xinfazhai 新发寨)	<i>Mango</i> (Mumei 木美)	<i>Maza</i> (Mengmei 孟梅)	<i>Meang</i> (Dala 达腊)	<i>Maang</i>	<i>Mondzi</i>
autonym	θou ⁵³	muaŋ ⁵³ , muaŋ ⁵⁵ phe ²¹	ma ⁵⁵ ŋo ²¹	ma ³³ za ⁵³	mæaŋ ⁵³	maaŋ ³³	mo ²¹ ndzi ²¹
one	te ³³ tə ⁵³ , tei ³⁵	te ³³ e ³³	tə ⁵³	ta ³³	thei ³³	thi ³⁵	ta ²¹ (ɔ ⁴⁴)
two	nei ³⁵ ɔ ⁵³ , nei ³³	na ²¹ e ³³	na ⁵³	nei ³³	nei ³³	ni ³⁵	ni ⁴⁴ (ɔ ⁴⁴)
three	θouŋ ³³ ɔ ³³ , θouŋ ⁵⁵	soŋ ⁵³ e ³³	soŋ ⁵¹	soŋ ¹¹	soŋ ³³	səŋ ³³	soŋ ¹³ (ɔ ⁵³)
four	lei ³⁵ ɔ ³³ , lei ³³	l ^w e ⁵³ e ³³	lwei ⁵¹	lei ¹¹	lei ³⁵	lai ³⁵	lɛ ¹³ (ɔ ⁵³)
five	ŋo ³³ ɔ ⁵³ , ŋo ²¹	ŋo ²¹ e ³³	nu ⁵³	ŋɔ ⁵³	ŋa ³³	ŋa ³⁵	ŋɔ ²¹ (ɔ ⁴⁴)
six	tɕhu ³⁵ ɔ ⁵³ , tɕhu ³³	tɕho ²¹ e ³³	khau ²¹	khu ³⁵	kho ³³	khɔ ³⁵	khu ⁵³ (ɔ ⁴⁴)

Gloss	<i>Thou</i> (Nabi 那比)	<i>Muangphe</i> (Xinfazhai 新发寨)	<i>Mango</i> (Mumei 木美)	<i>Maza</i> (Mengmei 孟梅)	<i>Meang</i> (Dala 达腊)	<i>Maang</i>	<i>Mondzi</i>
seven	hei ³³ ɔ ⁵³ , hei ³¹	xai ³³ e ³³	ɕi ³³	xe ³³	yei ³³	ɣui ³⁵	xe ¹³
eight	tɕhi ³⁵ ɔ ⁵³ , tɕhi ³⁵	ɕi ²¹ e ³³	səŋ ⁵¹	si ³⁵	ji ³³	ʒi ³⁵	ɕi ⁵³ (ɔ ⁴⁴)
nine	ku ³⁵ ɔ ³³ , kou ³³	ko ²¹ e ³³	khə ³³	ko ⁵³	kau ³⁵	kau ³⁵	ko ¹³ (ɔ ⁵³)
ten	θi ³⁵ ɔ ³³ , θi ³³	sei ⁵³ e ³³	sei ⁵³	sei ³³	sɿ ⁵³	swi ⁵⁵	si ⁴⁴ (ɔ ⁵³)
back	nə ³³ koŋ ³³ pə ³⁵	laŋ ⁵³	mə ³³ ɿlaŋ ⁵⁵	to ⁵⁵ koŋ ³³	tɕim ³³ laŋ ⁵³		
belly	a ³³ loŋ ⁵³	pi ⁵³	phau ³³	ɣou ³³	ɣo ³³	gɔ ³⁵ , ŋɔ ³⁵	boŋ ⁵³
big	a ³³ kɛ ⁵³	yei ³³	ɣe ³³	dieu ⁵³	qaŋ ³³	kqaŋ ³⁵	du ¹³
bird	ŋo ³⁵	ŋo ⁵³	ŋu ⁵³	ŋa ³⁵	ŋa ⁵³	ŋɔ ⁵⁵	ŋo ⁵³
black	a ³³ no ¹¹	tshei ²¹	tsai ⁵³	tshei ⁵³	na ³³	na ³⁵	nɔ ⁴⁴
bone	huo ⁵³ ʒu ³³	ɣou ³³	xu ⁵⁵ ʒa ³³	xa ³³ ɿdaŋ ³⁵	ɣau ³³	ɣau ³⁵	u ⁵³ ɣo ²¹
cattle		nɯ ³³	nəŋ ³³ tsa ⁵³	ny ⁵³ , ny ⁵³ tsəŋ ³³	nɯ ³⁵ , nɯ ³³ pe ³³	nɔ ³⁵	niu ²¹ (tɕe ¹³)
chicken	di ³⁵	wo ²¹ ɿjaŋ ⁵³	ʒat ⁵³ , khwe ³³	ɣa ³³	ɣa ³³	ɣɔ ³⁵	ɣo ⁴⁴
cloud	muŋ ⁵³ ta ¹¹	mou ³³ pau ⁵⁵	mə ³³ tə ⁵⁵	mu ⁵³ po ³³	mau ³⁵ ni ³³	mou ³⁵ ni ³³	mo ²¹ mu ⁵³
cry, weep	a ³³ ŋu ³³	ŋou ⁵³	ŋə ⁵³	ŋau ³³	ŋau ⁵³	ŋau ³³	ŋo ¹³
day	muŋ ⁵³	nai ³³	mə ³³	ta ⁵³ nei ³³	mau ³³	nai ³⁵	nie ⁴⁴
die	khe ³³	xei ⁵³	xi ⁵⁵	xai ³⁵	jei ²¹		
dig	bu ³⁵	tshai ²¹		mbo ³³	tu ³³		
dog	khli ⁵³	khwei ³³		khwei ³³	khwei ³³	khui ³⁵	khui ⁴⁴
dream		ji ³³ me ³³ m ^w aŋ ⁵³	ʒeŋ ⁵³ mou ⁵³	zi ³³ ga ¹¹ ma ³³	ma ³³ ɿdau ⁵³	ma ³⁵ tau ³⁵	ʒi ¹³ mo ⁴⁴
drink	tə ³³		ntan ⁵³	ndaŋ ⁴²³	taŋ ⁵³	ndaŋ ³³	daŋ ¹³
wine, liquor	tsei ³³		tsi ⁵⁵	tsɛ ⁵³	tɕi ³³	ɕzai ³³	ɕʒe ¹³
dust	lou ³³	l ^w ɔ ⁵³	mban ⁵⁵	mbən ³³	mei ⁵³ mbən ³³		

Gloss	<i>Thou</i> (Nabi 那比)	<i>Muangphe</i> (Xinfazhai 新发寨)	<i>Mango</i> (Mumei 木美)	<i>Maza</i> (Mengmei 孟梅)	<i>Meang</i> (Dala 达腊)	<i>Maang</i>	<i>Mondzi</i>
ear	ta ³³ kle ³⁵	qeaŋ ³³	qoŋ ³³	qeaŋ ³³	paŋ ⁵³	paŋ ³³	lkaŋ ⁵³
egg	ti ³⁵ u ⁵³	yu ³³ ɣou ⁵⁵	tan ³³	tən ⁵³	yu ³³	ɣa ⁵⁵ ɣu ³³	(ɣo ⁴⁴)tə ⁴⁴
eye	khi ³³	tɕiu ³³	qhai ⁵⁵	qhei ³⁵	tiu ³³ ma ⁵³	tiu ³³	khi ¹³
far	læ ⁵³ ɣo ³³	jin ⁵³	zan ⁵⁵	dei ³³	vuu ⁵³	ve ⁵⁵	lei ⁴⁴
father	pho ³³	tei ³³		ta ⁵³		pa ³⁵	pɔ ²¹
fire	mi ⁵³	mai ³³	mi ³³	mei ⁵³	mi ³³	mi ³⁵	mi ²¹
fish	ɣɛi ³³ ɔ ⁵⁵	ŋu ³³	ŋu ³³	ŋa ⁵³	leu ²¹	tia ³³	ŋo ²¹ (zɛ ³³)
flower	θei ⁵⁵ vei ³³	vwei ²¹	vei ⁵³	pu ⁵³	no ²¹	ɳniō ³³ , niō ³³	vei ⁴⁴
fly, to	a ⁵⁵ ple ³³			baŋ ³³		baŋ ³⁵	baŋ ⁴⁴
good		muei ³³	mei ³³	lau ⁵³	ɳdai ³³		
green	a ³³ noŋ ²²	neu ⁵³	no ⁵³	ŋu ⁵³	no ⁵³		
hair, head	bua ³³ mi ⁵⁵	mu ⁵³ mei ²¹	qau ³³	ma ³³ ŋaŋ ⁵³	ou ³³ mi ³³	ɳo ²¹ mi ³⁵	mo ⁵⁵ sui ¹³
hand	lo ³⁵	le ²¹	lu ⁵³	la ³³	la ³³	la ³⁵	lo ⁴⁴
head	mo ³³ ba ⁵⁵	mu ⁵³	to ³³	ma ³⁵	ou ³³	ɳo ³⁵	mo ⁵⁵ bu ⁵³
horse		moŋ ³³	moŋ ³³	mu ⁵³	moŋ ³³	moŋ ³⁵	moŋ ²¹
house	pei ⁵³	pwəŋ ³³	paŋ ³³	pəŋ ³³	qhaŋ ³³	khaŋ ³⁵	pa ⁴⁴ tɕu ¹³
I	ŋo ³³	ŋo ⁵³	ŋu ⁵³	ŋa ²¹	ŋa ⁵³	ŋa ³³	ŋo ¹³
you (sg.)	no ³³	nei ⁵³		na ³³	na ⁵³	na ³³	na ¹³
intestines	yu ³³	yu ⁵³	xu ³³ ɣəu ⁵³	sei ⁵³	yu ⁵³	yu ³³ , wu ³³	se ⁵³
kill	a ³³ θei ⁵⁵	ɕi ⁵³	se ⁵³	sai ³⁵	sai ³³		
laugh	a ⁵³ ɣi ³³	ɣi ⁵³	ɣe ⁵³	ɣei ¹¹	ɣə ⁵³	ɣui ³³	ɣi ¹³
leaf	θei ³⁵ phlo ¹¹	sai ³³ phjo ⁵⁵	sei ⁵³ phjo ³³	phja ⁵³	sai ⁵³ phja ³³	(sui ³³) phia ²¹	(si ⁵³)phio ⁵³
leg	khei ³³	khai ⁵³	khi ⁵⁵	khei ³⁵	khi ⁵³		
liver	a ³³ θa ⁵³	sa ³³	sa ³³	sai ³³	sən ³³	sun ³⁵	ka ⁴⁴
meat	xuo ⁵³	xu ³³	xo ³³	ɳou ³⁵ , xa ³³	ɣa ³³	ɣa ³⁵	ɳu ⁵³
medicine	θei ⁵³	sai ³³	si ³³	sei ³³	sai ³³	sai ³³	se ⁴⁴

Gloss	<i>Thou</i> (Nabi 那比)	<i>Muangphe</i> (Xinfazhai 新发寨)	<i>Mango</i> (Mumei 木美)	<i>Maza</i> (Mengmei 孟梅)	<i>Meang</i> (Dala 达腊)	<i>Maang</i>	<i>Mondzi</i>
month	lɔ ⁵³	m ³³ le ⁵⁵	lo ³³	mu ⁵³ la ³³	la ³³	la ³³	lɔ ⁵³ , lɔ ⁴⁴
moon	muŋ ⁵³ pho ³³	la ³³ pei ²¹	lo ⁵⁵ pu ³³	mu ⁵³ ntan ³³	la ³³ pa ⁵⁵	mu ²¹ la ²¹ pa ⁴⁴	lie ¹³ pɔ ²¹
mouth	mɛ ⁵³	m ^w əŋ ³³	man ³³	məŋ ⁵³	məŋ ³³	ŋui ³⁵	ma ²¹
name	mɛ ³³	ma ⁵³	ma ⁵⁵	miŋ ³⁵	meŋ ⁵³		me ³⁵
near	a ³³ ni ⁵³	qəŋ ⁵³	təu ⁵³	qəŋ ³⁵	ʔdeu ⁵³	ʔdiau ⁵⁵	thu ⁵³
neck	lɔ ²¹ klæ ³⁵	kwaŋ ³³	kwaŋ ³³	kwaŋ ³³	kwaŋ ³³		
new	a ³³ le ⁵⁵	xei ²¹	xi ⁵³	xi ³⁵ , xei ³⁵	yei ³³	zi ²¹ yu ⁴⁴ zi ³³	xi ⁵³
nose	tu ³⁵ ka ⁵³	ne ⁵³	tjok ⁵³	tjaŋ ⁵³	tein ²¹	tie ³³	tʂoŋ ⁵³
oil	huo ⁵³	sei ⁵³	ʒa ³³ yi ⁵³	sei ³⁵	ju ³³	(va ³⁵) sui ⁵⁵	si ¹³
person, human	θæ ⁵⁵	saŋ ²¹	sak ⁵³	saŋ ⁵³	saŋ ²¹	sɔ ²¹	saŋ ⁵³
pig	ei ³⁵	v ^w o ⁵³	qe ³³	va ³³	va ³³	vɔ ³⁵	va ⁴⁴
rain	yei ⁵⁵	ɣwei ⁵³	yi ⁵³	yei ³³	yi ⁵³	yei ⁵⁵	ze ¹³
rat, mouse	ɣo ³⁵ nɔ̃ ³³	f ^w o ²¹	xu ⁵³	qha ³³ nei ⁵³	va ³³ ŋəu ⁵³	va ⁵⁵ nəu ⁵⁵	ŋei ⁵³
red	a ³³ ni ²²	pjai ⁵³	pi ⁵³		ne ⁵³	ni ⁵⁵	ni ¹³
rice, grain	tshe(i) ³³ khɔ ²²	qhu ⁵³	qhɔ ³³ phju ⁵⁵	qha ⁵³ phjei ³⁵	qha ⁵³ phu ⁵³		
rice, plant	khɔ ³³		nu ³³		qha ⁵³ nɔm ⁵³	yei ³³ qa ⁴⁴	khɔ ¹³
rice, cooked	nɔ ³⁵	haŋ ⁵⁵	nɔ ⁵³	haŋ ³⁵	mjæ ³³	mia ³⁵	zɔ ¹³ , mu ⁴⁴
road	tu ³³	dzu ⁵³	dzu ⁵³	qa ³³ ma ⁵³	ka ⁵³	ɔ̃ia ³⁵	tʂu ⁴⁴ mɔ ⁴⁴
salt	tshe ³³ ʔdei ³³	se ³³	so ³³	sa ³³	ʔde ³³	ʔdie ³³	sɔ ⁴⁴
skin	phi ³³	mɔ̃ ⁵³ lai ²¹	xo ³³ gi ⁵³	xa ³³ ŋgei ²¹	ŋge ⁵³	gei ⁵⁵ , ŋgei ⁵⁵	ŋge ¹³ , u ⁵³ ŋgie ¹³
sky	muŋ ⁵³ ɣu ³³	mau ³³ the ⁵⁵	mə ³³ ta ⁵⁵	mu ⁵³ tai ²¹	mau ³³ qhɔŋ ⁵³	mɔu ³⁵	mo ²¹
sleep	ke ⁵³ zei ³³	jou ⁵³ jei ⁵³	ʒe ⁵³ le ³³	zei ³³	jei ³³	zi ³⁵	bo ⁵³
small	nɛ ³³	nã ⁵³	mi ⁵³	bja ³³	ʔbja ³³	ʔdi ^{ʔ55}	ia ⁵³

Gloss	<i>Thou</i> (Nabi 那比)	<i>Muangphe</i> (Xinfazhai 新发寨)	<i>Mango</i> (Mumei 木美)	<i>Maza</i> (Mengmei 孟梅)	<i>Meang</i> (Dala 达腊)	<i>Maang</i>	<i>Mondzi</i>
snake	vui ³³	vwi ⁵³	ve ⁵³	qha ⁵³ vei ²¹	vei ⁵³	vui ³³	vi ¹³
star	ki ⁵⁵	tsɿ ³³ ze ²¹	lo ⁵⁵ zo ³³	mu ⁵³ dzi ²¹	tɕi ⁵³ ma ⁵³	mu ²¹ tɕi ³³ ma ³³	mo ²¹ tɕi ¹³
stone	ŋo ³⁵ mo ⁵⁵	l ^w ou ⁵³	lau ⁵³	nou ³³	ŋo ³³ pa ³³	hɔ̃ ³⁵ , ŋɔ̃ ³⁵ , tɕɔ̃ ³⁵	lu ⁴⁴ mp ¹³
sun	no ³⁵ je ⁵⁵	mau ³³ pui ⁵³	pe ³³ qhi ⁵⁵	mu ⁵³ pei ²¹	mau ³³ pui ⁵³	mau ³⁵ pui ⁴⁴	mo ²¹ pei ¹³
thick	a ³³ thu ²²	thau ⁵³	thau ⁵⁵	theu ³⁵	thu ⁵³	thu ³³	thu ¹³
thin	a ³³ bo ⁵³	pei ³³	phai ⁵³	phi ⁵³	pa ³⁵	pa ³⁵	pɔ ²¹
tongue	la ³³	lja ⁵³	lai ⁵³	mən ³³ le ⁵³	mən ³³ le ²¹	ŋui ²¹ lei ³³	ma ²¹ li ⁴⁴
tooth	tɕi ³³	tsei ⁵³	tse ⁵³	ɲin ⁵³	mən ³³ sɿ ³³	ŋui ²¹ so ³³	tɕi ¹³
tree	θei ³⁵ muo ³³	sai ²¹	sei ⁵³ mo ³³		sei ⁵³	tsa ³³	si ⁵³
water	yei ³³	wei ⁵³	yi ⁵³	yei ²¹	yi ⁵³	yei ³³	ɔ ³³
white	a ³³ phlu ²²	tɕjo ⁵³	ni ³³ gu ⁵³	tsan ³⁵	tso ³³	tsɔ ³⁵	phiu ¹³
wind	lei ³³	mau ³³ lai ⁵³	tɕu ⁵³	mu ⁵³ lai ²¹	lai ⁵³	lai ⁵⁵	la ⁵³ tɕɔ ³³
year	khu ⁵⁵	m ³³ qhou ⁵³	ma ³³	mu ⁵³ qhou ³⁵	qho ³³	qho ³⁵	khu ⁵³
yellow	a ³³ xi ²²	xou ⁵³	xaj ³³	xei ³⁵	yei ⁵³	ɲɔ ⁵⁵	xi ¹³